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ABSTRACT

While the concepts of language continuum and diglossia are widely cited and discussed, they remain generally vague and are used in different ways by different linguists. Recent sociolinguistic research on Dutch-speaking Belgium provides a framework for examining the two concepts, a context for proposing a theoretical definition for language continuum, and a context for examining Fasold's distinction between "broad" and "leaky" diglossia. Results of a macrosociolinguistic study of language behavior in two western Flemish towns lead to the conclusion that, at least in the mind of the language users, there is no language continuum in the common sense of the term, and the situation is diglossic. Information gathered in such macrological research requires the complementary micrological research in order to be complete, but macrological studies are also necessary to establish the specific needs for micrological research. (MSE)

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THE INVESTIGATION OF "LANGUAGE CONTINUUM" AND "DIGLOSSIA": A MACROLOGICAL CASE STUDY AND A THEORETICAL MODEL

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Résumé / Abstract

Bien que les concepts de continuum linguistique et de diglossie soient largement utilisés et discutés, ils n'en restent pas moins vagues et employés de façon différente par différents linguistes. Dans la première partie de cette communication ces deux concepts sont examinés dans le cadre des recherches sociolinguistiques actuelles portant sur la Belgique néerlandophone. Une définition théorique du continuum linguistique est proposée, alors que pour la diglossie la distinction de FASOLD (1984) entre diglossie "large" et diglossie "perméable" est discutée et adoptée. La seconde partie commente les résultats d'une enquête macrosociolinguistique sur le comportement langagier déclaré de locuteurs de deux villes ouest-flamandes, Oostende et Diksmuide. La conclusion est que, dans l'esprit des usagers en tout cas, il n'existe pas de continuum linguistique, dans le sens habituel de ce terme. La situation est donc diglossique. Il est évident que le type d'enquête suivie ne peut nous apporter des réponses qu'au niveau macrologique. Une vue détaillée et explicative ne sera possible qu'après que les composants micrologiques auront été ajoutés. Mais l'information macrologique est nécessaire en vue d'établir quelle sorte d'enquête micrologique devra être poursuivie.

The relation of macro- and micrological approaches in language-in-contact-situations is hardly different from what it is in any sociolinguistic analysis or investigation. As Fishman has stated "micro- and macro-sociolinguistics are both conceptually and methodologically complementary" (FISHMAN 1972b, 31). The question to be debated, therefore, is not which approach is "better", but which specific problems require which specific procedures. Micro and macro being complementary, it is problem specifications which should determine the selection of methods. Hence a theoretical debate is possible on which procedures in fact belong to the micro- or macrological level of analysis (BREITBORDE 1983) and which procedure is supposed to be most fitting in specific cases of language/dialect-in-contact-situations. But even here I favour an ad hoc procedure which lets problem specifications determine what to do. My working hypothesis then is that generally macrological procedures should provide an overall framework, whereas a more refined analysis of the situation may be brought about as a result of a combination of various micrological investigations. I will try to demonstrate this methodological assertion by discussing a case study.

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In order to contribute to the general theme I should like to analyse the code-in-contact-situation in a particular part of the Dutch language territory, viz., the Belgian province of West-Flanders, where the local dialect interacts not only with the standard language but presumably also with other, intermediate variants. An inquiry in this respect was carried out at the end of 1983 (for details, see WILLEMYNS 1985) and it is hoped that this case study will yield some generally useful results as to today's theme in particular and to the overall theme in general.

In a previous paper (WILLEMYNS 1984c) I distinguished, for the Flemish community as a whole, between five codes. Undoubtedly these five codes are present in West-Flanders as well but their status and interactions may be quite specific, the very strong position of the local dialect being one of the peculiarities of the particular situation there. Debating the question "why do localized codes persist", Susanne Romaine states that "the conditions of maintenance should be established on a macro-basis and the question why answered on a micro-basis" (ROMAINE 1984).

Since the "question why" can hardly be answered without the "conditions of maintenance" having been established, it is obvious that our case study should be a macro one.

Any kind of analysis of the contact situation in a particular region is bound to bring up the problem of diglossia and, consequently, of the "language continuum", two macro concepts which, in their turn, will also necessitate micro investigations in order to be fully clarified. They have in common that they are widely used and discussed yet remain vague and are often used in a different way by various linguists. Both terms are obviously linked together since in a "classical" so called "dialect-standard"-community it is assumed that:

a) more codes exist than only pure dialect and standard language,

b) the different codes constitute a continuum, the two extreme poles of which are dialect and standard; yet all the codes overlap as well. A typical example of this is Ammon's description of the Swabian situation (AMMON 1977).

If particular functions may be assigned to particular codes, however, it is questionable whether we are still in the presence of a normal "dialect-standard"-situation or whether it is rather to be labelled a diglossic one. Since diglossia is indeed a rather disputed term it may be useful to examine it in more detail.

Diglossia was introduced into linguistics by FERGUSON (1959):

> "Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and

> respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary communication" (336).

Ferguson, in this respect, speaks of L and H varieties (Low and High) and gives examples of such diglossic communities as the Arab Community, Greece and German-speaking Switzerland.

This definition, explicit as it may seem, gave rise to widespread misunderstandings and/or different interpretations. This accounts for our finding, in more recent publications, of definitions hardly matching Ferguson's at all.

The "Glossary" in TRUDGILL (1984) terms diglossia as:

> "A language situation in which two very different varieties of a language are used for complementary functions, a 'high' variety normally used for written and formal purposes and a 'low' variety for ordinary conversation" (575).

A similar definition is to be found in HAMERS-BLANC (1983):

> "Diglossie: situation linguistique relativement stable dans laquelle deux variétés d'une même langue ou deux langues distinctes sont utilisées de façon complémentaire, l'une ayant un statut socioculturel relativement supérieur ã l'autre dans la société" (450).

They add moreover:

> "Mais insistons sur le fait que, pour qu'il y ait diglossie au sens strict du terme, il est nécessaire que la répartition des usages de H(aut) et de B(as) soit complémentaire et institutionnalisée" (ib., 239).

Both definitions are quite "generous" in that they allow for many more situations to be labelled diglossic than would be possible in Ferguson's view. This generosity is brought about by the eagerness of many linguists after 1959 to extend Ferguson's definition so as to be able to use a handy concept in many situations originally not meant to be labelled that way (GUMPERZ 1961 and 1971).

One of the important changes in Trudgill's definition is the inclusion of the word "normally" implying that H can occasionally be used in informal situations and L in formal ones.

Yet, so broadening the scope of the definition gives rise to a number of complementary problems, the major one being the question whether the situation described is supposed to occur within the same category of speakers or whether there is some social stratification.

In other words, could it be possible for this kind of diglossia to occur only in the lower classes of the population (cfr. MEEUS 1979), whereas higher classes only display some kind of style shifting in formal vs. informal situations? Although these questions require a complementary micrological treatment, I shall briefly comment on them further on in this paper.

Post-Fergusonian research, moreover, reveals that a diglossic situation may be far less stable than Ferguson apparently thought it was. "Les rapports entre H et B évoluent sous la pression des changements sociaux et des rapports entre les groupes" HAMERS-BLANC (1983, 239) quite correctly observe.

GUMPERZ (1964) is one of the first instances to establish that diglossia is not only to be encountered in multilingual societies with several "official" languages, nor only in societies using a more classical and a more popular variant of the same language, but also in linguistic communities displaying different dialects or functionally determined linguistic variation of any kind.

Fishman, for one, terms diglossia a form of coexistence of two (or more) languages or language varieties, the social class values and class-bound functions of which are complementary (FISHMAN 1967 and 1971). This may have been the reason why BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1982, 33) lists FLANDERS as a diglossic community and why many other Flemish linguists agree with him (WILLEMYNS 1984b). As a matter of fact the definitions listed above allow for a great many applications. Yet other linguists (e.g. HUDSON 1980) are not very happy with these extensions of Ferguson's definition. Since there is no reason to discuss the point of view of both sides once more, I am going to focus on only one aspect which will appear to be very valuable when going into the case study which is to follow.

Fasold suggests that "everyone agrees that H speech is used in formal, public settings and L in informal, private ones" (FASOLD 1984, 52) but he also, quite rightly, points out that diglossic situations must not necessarily remain unchanged:

> "if there is substantial leakage of the H or L varieties into the functions of the opposite variety, this is usually a sign of the incipient breakdown of the diglossic relationship" (ib.).

Since leaky diglossia occurs more often than is usually aknowledged it seems proper to quote Fasold's definition of what he calls:

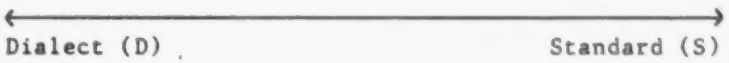
> "BROAD DIGLOSSIA, i.e. the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which

> are learned first with little or no conscious effort) of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate" (FASOLD 1984, 53).

Both leaky and broad diglossia are terms which will appear to be useful when discussing the Flemish situation. But let us first have a closer look at the second concept under consideration, the language continuum. AMMON (1977) states that, in Southern Germany, one is confronted with

> "a gradual transition from the pure dialect on the one side to the pure national language on the other, *with no clear varieties that could be isolated in between*" (63; Italics are mine, RW).

This view is quite common among sociolinguists, and I, for one, used it myself in commenting on code usage in Flanders (Willemyns 1984c). Yet the theoretical concept of the continuum ought to be refined. In the past the continuum has — implicitly or explicitly — mostly been used as a rather rudimentary instrument since it is usually unidimensional in that it only renders one part of reality, viz. the range of codes theoretically available:



This instrument which can be very useful should therefore be refined in many ways. As a pluridimensional device it should be able to reflect the functional load of codes and so doing enable us to describe the competence of (groups of) speakers.

Therefore it will also be necessary to refine the notion of communicative competence (HYMES 1971) and to get rid of the traditional idea of communicative competence mostly describing styleshift within the confines of one code. The recently published reader by Rivera (1984) yields the conclusion that:

> "Although many definitions and descriptions are offered in the papers in this volume, it was not possible to reach a consensus with regard to a working definition of communicative competence" (xiii).

I feel therefore entitled to use the concept of communicative competence in my own way, according to the context in which it is used here. As far as native speakers are concerned one might favour a definition as "the sophistication with which one can switch from one code (or variant) to another according to the circumstances of the linguistic interaction taking place". An elaborate communicative competence of a native speaker then would presuppose that:

a) the speaker is aware of which particular code is appropriate in any particular situation;

b) the speaker masters every code of the theoretical continuum of his language.

This sum of codes available in a community constitutes the totally available linguistic competence and it may be assumed that, the more codes a speaker masters, the easier it will be to cope with any situation, i.e. to switch to the appropriate code in appropriate circumstances. Communicative competence defined in this way now ought to be introduced into the continuum as an instrument, i.e. into the refined, pluridimensional continuum, thus enabling us to combine in some way both the concepts of continuum and diglossia. To achieve this result micro- and macro- level elements should be combined.

I should like to demonstrate this model using information yielded by the Flemish situation.

A bilingual — or diglossic — native speaker, e.g. someone who was socialized in the local dialect and managed afterwards to acquire an excellent knowledge of the standard language, displays some kind of stylistic variation in both codes. In other words, he is able to use both dialect and standard language in formal as well and in informal circumstances, adapting these codes accordingly. This view strongly opposes a view which has recently become more and more popular, that dialect is in fact reserved for informal and standard language for formal communicative interactions.

In our model we can thus discern:

D_1	D_2	S_1	S_2
[+ dial, + formal]	[+ dial, - formal]	[- dial, + formal]	[- dial, -formal]

S is here to be understood as a more or less southern standard, i.e., in the words of T'SOU (1980) as a "regional standard".

But we should also take into account the more or less small group, mostly consisting of intellectuals, which also masters the so-called "superposed variety" (Baetens Beardsmore 1983), i.e. the standard language of the entire Dutch language community which, in its southern form, is northernly flavoured in that it is the same standard as used in Holland, minus some highly marked phonological and (mostly) lexical features (WILLEMYNS 1984c).

This code may be labelled Σ and it may be assumed that characteristics of Σ will be:

Σ
[+ super, + formal]

Σ may also be looked upon as the "norm" of the language, i.e. something striven for, yet usually not achieved or performed by the majority of the members of the community (WILLEMYNS 1984a).

A Σ with a [- formal] feature may theoretically be possible but is very unlikely to actually occur in the Flemish situation.

The most elaborate form of communicative competence then should be to actively master all of the five codes mentioned so far. An acceptable and workable communicative competence on the other hand could do without both Σ and D_1. The average bilingual — or diglossic — native speaker probably will display an active knowledge of D_2 and S_1, to which often S_2 may be added.

The native speaker not possessing a workable knowledge of an S-variant will nevertheless display some diglossic variation according to circumstances and will therefore need a specific code to cope with so-called H-settings. I shall label this code "vernacular" (V), likely to have the following characteristics:

$$V_1$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vern.} \\ + \text{ formal} \end{bmatrix}$$

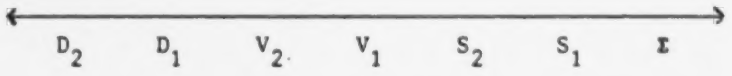
Generally speaking another V should be more common:

$$V_2$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vern.} \\ - \text{ formal} \end{bmatrix}$$

but V_1 has, of course, a specific function in the population mentioned above.

The overall scale of the linguistic continuum may therefore be represented as follows:



but an individual communicative competence reaching from one pole to the other is rather unlikely to occur.

The slowly increasing group of native speakers having no active command of the local dialect is supposed to have a minimal competence of S_1 and S_2 or V_2 and S_1, but the combination most specific for a large body of Flemmings should comprise D_2, V_1 and S_1 (or Σ).

Non-standard speakers, on the other hand, could be limited (for a small, uneducated and ageing group) to $D_1 + D_2$ or $D_2 + V_1$.

The Flemish community as it exists today should therefore not be regarded as a "linguistic community" in the sense of WEINREICH, LABOV, HERZOG (1968) "sharing an identical set of norms", but rather as a "colingual community", defined by YNGVE (1975) as:

> "characterized by one or more linguistic features or items that serve to define the community and to set it apart from others" (11),

the specific feature then being that several particular portions of the population each covers a particular range of the continuum in a way not occurring elswhere.

Although I am convinced that this may be the most appropriate way to describe the Flemish linguistic situation as a whole, it occurred to me that there is one question I didn't consider then (and which, as a matter of fact, is but seldom if at all considered by others) namely whether this continuum also exists in the minds of the speakers or whether this is "mere analyst's play".

This issue appears to be extremely important since the investigation to be reported reveals that in the region under consideration the respondents usually are quite aware of which code they intend to use and that, in their view, the alternatives are in fact reduced to only two, i.e. [+ dialect] or [- dialect].

Their production of [- dialect] may, from the linguist's point of view, be situated at quite different places on his theoretical continuum, but these considerations are hardly relevant to the language user himself. According to various circumstances such as age, level of education, place of residence, occupation, etc. ... of the speaker, the output may vary from what I termed "transliterated dialect" to "standard Dutch" (WILLEMYNS 1984c, 62-63) and yet his intent remains unchanged, i.e. to use a code which in his view is merely [- dialect].

I don't suggest, of course, that some speakers may not realize that there are various alternatives in rendering a [- dialect] code but simply that they experience a clear gap between [+ dialect] and [- dialect].

For the linguist the only possible conclusion to be drawn from this state of mind of most speakers of Westflemish is that <u>they simply do not experience a continuum</u>. Consequently the linguistic situation involved must be termed diglossic, even according to the most narrow of definitions of diglossia one might imagine.

I intend to prove the probability of this hypothesis by discussing figures drawn from two investigations on reported behaviour.

The case study referred to is based on an investigation carried out at the end of 1983 in the Westflemish towns of <u>Oostende</u> and <u>Diksmuide</u>.

The questionnaire used was a slightly revised version of the one I used for the first time in WILLEMYNS (1979).

In each town 144 respondents were interviewed (n = 288) who can be classified according to the following variables:

sex	:	144 male and 144 female respondents
age	:	96 young people (15-20 years of age) 96 adults (30-45 years of age) 96 older people (55+)
Education level	:	96 L 96 M 96 U

A list of settings or domains (cfr. appendix) was submitted to the respondents who were asked to state which of the following three variants they normally use under the circumstances described:

A : the local dialect
B : an intermediate variant
C : standard Dutch

This classification was also taken from WILLEMYNS (1979) and the investigators tried to explain beforehand the exact difference between the three codes as clearly as possible to the respondents.

The results of the investigation were classified along the age and education variables. Sex had to be ruled out since, contrary to what may be learned from various foreign investigators there seems to be no significant difference at all between male and female informants.

The S.E.S.-variable was restricted to level of education since previous studies have revealed that this is the only relevant and most distinctive aspect of social hierarchy in a Flemish linguistic context (WILLEMYNS 1979), the more so since I was somewhat intrigued by the following remark of Meeus's (1979):

> "For the total population (of Flanders i.e., RW) we should, according to our data, accept the functional differentiation of language behaviour and the existence of diglossia. If, however, we subdivide the population, diglossia becomes very unclear and language behaviour will be functionnally differentiated along different lines ... for the lower educational levels no indication of the existence of diglossia is to be found" (341).

The questions were subdivided, as usual, according to the formality of the situation they refer to:

[- formal] : questions 1 to 7
[± formal] : questions 8, 10 and 12
[+ formal] : questions 9, 11, 13 and 14

A general overview of the outcome (in percentage) is to be found in table 1 which was used as the input to Graph 1.

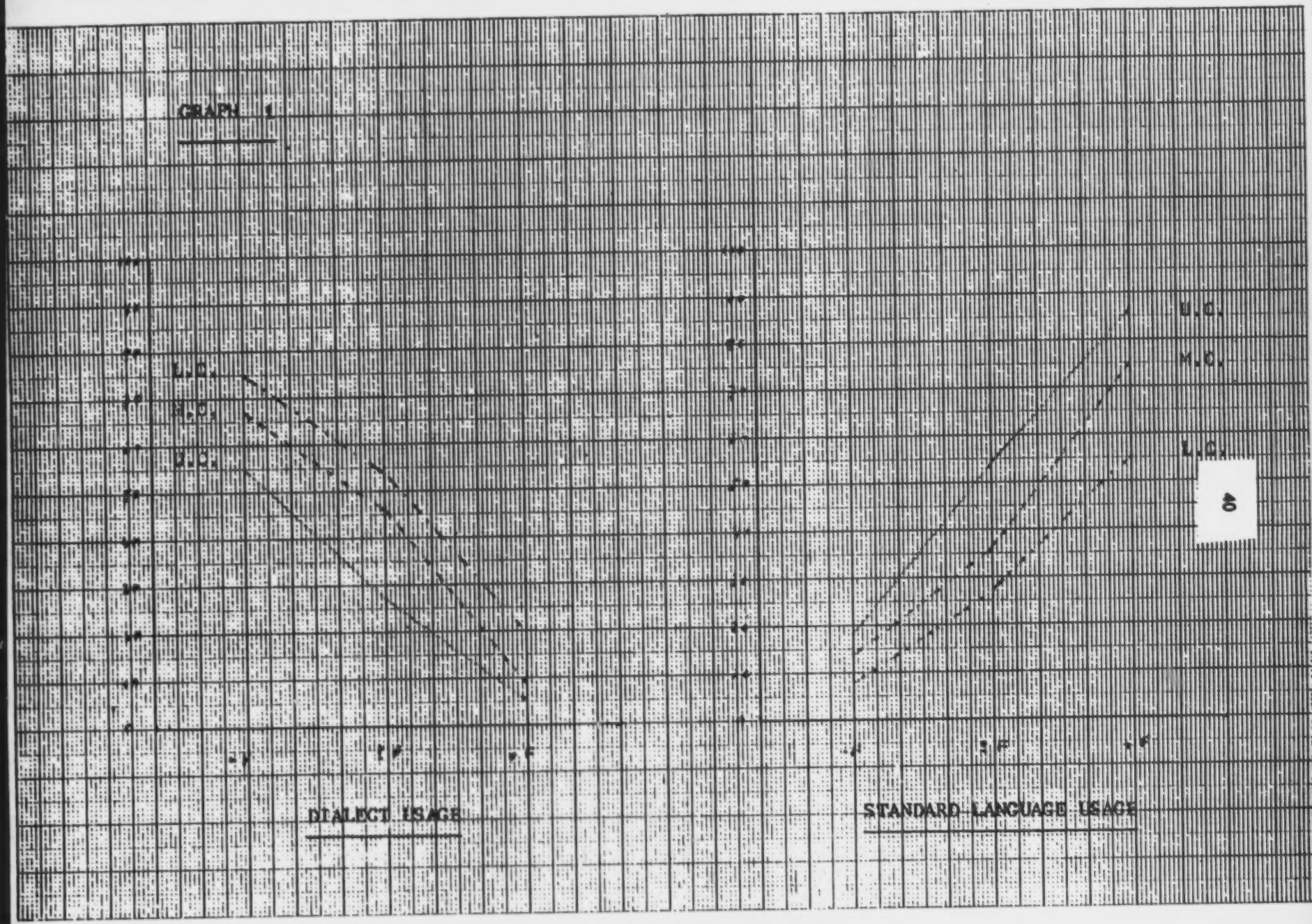
The first figures to be discussed need neither chart not graph since they are so clear that the facts speak for themselves. I am referring to the dialect mastery of the respondents: 98% of them appear to speak the local dialect, which means that dialect mastery is complete.

With regard to diglossia this is a very useful and significant piece of evidence, since it proves that the code which is considered to be one of both extreme poles of the continuum is indeed at the disposal of everyone. It will be more difficult and more delicate, however, to find out whether they also have a command of the second one and to eventually indicate what it is like and how, where, when and by whom it is used.

Let us therefore have a look at the exact figures.

Table 1: The use of the different codes (in percentage)

		Overall	Young	Ad.	Older p.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
[- formal]	A	65,5	70,8	62	64	75,2	67	54,1
	B	20,7	14,6	21,6	25,3	16,1	18,7	27,7
	C	13,7	14,5	16,4	10,5	8,7	14,3	18,3
[± formal]	A	42,1	41,6	45,7	38,7	53,9	45,6	26,6
	B	18,9	15,2	19,5	23	19	18,5	19,2
	C	39	43,1	34,6	38,7	27,1	35,9	54,1
[+ formal]	A	11,8	12,8	11	11,5	20,4	9	6
	B	16,2	9,4	13,5	25,3	25,2	15,4	8
	C	71,9	77,8	75,5	63,2	54,5	75,5	86


GRAPH 1
U.C.
M.C.
L.C.
L.C.
M.C.
U.C.
DIALECT USAGE
STANDARD LANGUAGE USAGE

As far as the education level is concerned there appears to be quite a discrepancy between the extremes. In [- formal] settings dialect is used by 75,2% of the LC informants. UC informants on the other hand use dialect in only 6% of the [+ formal] situations. We have a still more convincing case when changing the angle: in [+ formal] situations U.C. use standard in 86% of all cases, whereas only 8,7% of the L.C. use standard in [- formal] situations. This means that there is a gap from "almost always" to "almost never". It should be stressed that I am not now comparing the incomparable since my point is that there is a considerable discrepancy between the behaviour of one group in certain circumstances and of a different group in different circumstances. It moreover appears from all data according to the educational level variable that nobody always uses the dialect and that nobody never speaks standard language. At first sight this may seem to be an argument denying the diglossic character of the situation but for the time being I only want to use this outcome to demonstrate that everyone indeed has at least two codes at his disposal and that, therefore, the theoretical conditions for the existence of diglossia are fulfilled.

The figures of chart 1 make abundantly clear that code choice is influenced to a very great extent by the formality of the situation. The overall figures show that dialect usage drops dramatically from 65,5% in [- formal] to 11,8% in [+ formal] situations and that, accordingly, standard language usage in the same settings rises from 13,7% to 71,9%. Figures from separate questions are more striking still:

Chart 2 (question II, 13)

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older P.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	8	8	2	12	17	4	2
B	13	8	7	23	21	12	6
C	79	83	91	65	63	84	92

Chart 3 (question II, 6)

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older P.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	85	88	80	86	94	88	73
B	14	10	18	14	4	10	27
C	1	2	2	0	2	2	0

The standard language figures are most eloquent of all. No use at all is made of this code in the interaction between friends and acquaintances originating from the same region, even among the U.C. The U.C. behaviour remains consistent in the opposite situation as well. In the setting of question (II, 13) 92% use the standard language. Consistency is also apparent as far as M.C. data are concerned. L.C. results on the other hand are slightly surprising since 17% of these respondents use dialect even in formal situations. Obviously this should be accounted for by a lack of communicative competence.

What can these data add to our understanding of the diglossic character and the way the continuum in West-Flanders is organized? My working hypothesis — as I repeat — is that there actually is no continuum in any traditional sense and I should like now to analyse the data so as to see whether this hypothesis can be "proven". The use made of the B-variant is very significant in this respect (VAN DE CRAEN & WILLEMYNS 1983). In the "continuum-theory", B should be characterized in the following two ways:

a) on the one hand, as a variant which, from a linguistic point of view constitutes the transition from one pole (dialect) to the other (standard), in that it combines dialect and standard language features to a varying extent. In other words this is an attempt at standard language, with a great deal of dialect interference.

b) on the other hand, as far as code usage is concerned, B is a code which is (or can be) used in situations too formal for dialect, but too solidarity-linked for the standard.

The B-score of the present inquiry is pretty low, as can be seen from the next chart where the present B-score is compared with the outcome of a previous inquiry among university students in 1979 (WILLEMYNS 1979).

	L.C.		M.C.		U.C.	
	1979	1983	1979	1983	1979	1983
- formal	32	16	38	19	44	28
± formal	36	19	33	19	42	19

In 1979 the results of Westflemish students appeared to be considerably lower than the overall results; as a matter of fact they do match more or less the outcome of the 1983 inquiry. At the time I tried to explain this discrepancy by the notion of "distance":

> "This means that speakers of those dialects which are considered by many (and most often even by these speakers themselves) as considerably diverging from the Dutch standard language (i.e. the dialects of West-Flanders and Limburg) will

> be more inclined to consider their regional Umgangssprache as a dialect, leaving no room for an intermediate variant. This accounts (in both provinces) for a rather substantial dialect usage in [- formal] and an equally substantial standard language usage in [+ formal] domains, as well as for the lowest B-usage of all the provinces" (op. cit. 153-154).

Our present figures confirm this analysis and definitely show, for those regions where the "distance" between dialect and standard language is considerable, a polarization which is incompatible with the idea of a continuum. Our inquiry proves that Westflemings are quite certain what to use in particular situations, i.e. either A or C. The low B-quota are a clear indication that the notion of continuum hardly exists in the minds of Westflemish speakers. Confirmation can be found in the fact that there appears to be a discrepancy between the declared and the actual behaviour of the respondents. It was noted during the inquiry that actually about 44% of the respondents did use the B-code; yet what they declared was considerably lower. This can only be accounted for by the fact that they don't experience a continuum and therefore leave no room for an intermediate variant. They consider their own utterances to be either dialect or standard language, but hardly ever as something in between.

All of the preceding adds to the evidence that our respondents do indeed experience a clear cut gap between dialect and standard language and consequently it is evident that West-Flanders is indeed to be considered a diglossic community.

Yet the stability of the diglossic character in West-Flanders is going to be challenged in the future.

Chart 5 provided us with the answers to the question: "What code do (or would) you prefer to socialize your children in?":

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older p.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	27,5	36,5	25	21,5	35,5	25	17
B	24,5	15	33	26	23,5	23,5	26,5
C	47,5	48	40	52,5	34,5	50,5	55,5

These figures indicate that less than half the population is opting for the standard language and in the L.C. figures are lower still. Yet an increasing socialization in the standard is bound to change the distribution of function between codes, although it should be borne in mind that even children socialized in some kind of standard language eventually do learn to master the local dialect quite rapidly in some way or another. Yet "leakage of the H or L varieties into the functions of the opposite variety" (Fasold) is bound to increase and a "breakdown of the diglossic relationship" may be expected sooner

or later to align West-Flanders, more or less, with the remaining part of the Southern Netherlands.

Going back to the micro and macro analysis as far as languages or codes-in-contact are concerned, it would seem obvious that here too both aspects are complementary.

Our investigation provides us with some answers to Fishman's famous question "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" The answer to "What Language" is provided by the three codes considered: A, B, and C. These are the possible alternatives. To whom they are spoken can also be understood from the data, since we have a list of domains and know exactly who reports to be using which code in which domains. It would seem that both factors belong to the macro level since they provide us with information about the community as a whole. We are indeed not concerned with individuals but with groups, whose linguistic habits are known to us.

The third question "When" may take us down to the micro level analysis since it is concerned with personal decisions and personal attitudes. It is quite obvious, therefore, that answers to this question cannot be extrapolated as such from the figures, since this is indeed a macro level investigation, providing us with an overall view of the situation at a given moment. Similar investigations may be repeated in time and each new one would presumably yield different data, indicating that there is change in progress. To be fully informed about this change it should be necessary to refine our investigation mechanisms to the level of the individual, i.e. to micro level analysis. Hence it appears that both approaches are complementary indeed and should be used together to yield a fully detailed picture not only of how the situation <u>is</u> but also of to what extent it is changing. Our macro investigation only provides us with a snapshot, a frozen moment in what is to be considered a continuously changing situation.

A similar attitude should be adopted when the item "Why" is added to Fishman's question. Why one uses one code rather than another with a particular interlocutor in a particular situation largely depends on factors such as solidarity and power and on one's attitudes towards particular codes. All of this is susceptible of change which takes place on the level of the individual as well and will depend upon his changing position in several networks. Hence micro and macro elements are to be combined here too.

As stated before, the type of investigation used here will mostly provide us with macro answers. A more detailed and more explanatory picture is only possible after micro components have been added.

Theoretically, a complete picture of the contact situation of a region could be drawn by either carrying out a good deal of micro investigations, completed afterwards by a macro investigation, or the other way round. In practice, I presume, one needs the macro information first in order to establish what kinds of micro investigations are necessary and how they may be carried out.

APPENDIX

General information about respondents:

- Residence : Oostende
  : Diksmuide
- Sex : Male
  : Female
- Age : 15-20
  : 30-45
  : 55+

Level of instruction: - primary school
- secondary school
- college or university

Occupation:

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Do you master the local dialect: yes
no

II. Considering the following language varieties:

A : local dialect
B : intermediate variety (between A and C) with dialect interference
C : standard Dutch

then which one of these varieties do you normally use in the following circumstances:

1. Addressing members of your family and household
2. Addressing your parents
3. Addressing your children
4. Addressing your neighbours
5. In local shops or pubs
6. Addressing friends or acquaintances, living in your own region
7. Addressing friends or acquaintances, living in another region
8. Addressing colleagues at your working place or fellow pupils at school
9. Addressing your physician, who is not a personal acquaintance of yours
10. Addressing officials and civil servants — you know personally — at their office
11. Addressing officials and civil servants — you don't know personally — at their office

12. When phoning officials and civil servants you know personally
13. When phoning officials and civil servants you don't know personally
14. When intervening during a public discussion or meeting

III. Which variant do you normally use

a. when being addressed by a stranger using the local dialect
b. when being addressed by a stranger using another dialect
c. when being addressed by a stranger in standard Dutch

IV. Which variant do you or would you prefer to socialize your children in?

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